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THE
LAG OF TRUCE.

DEDICATED

TO

THE EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH.

BY

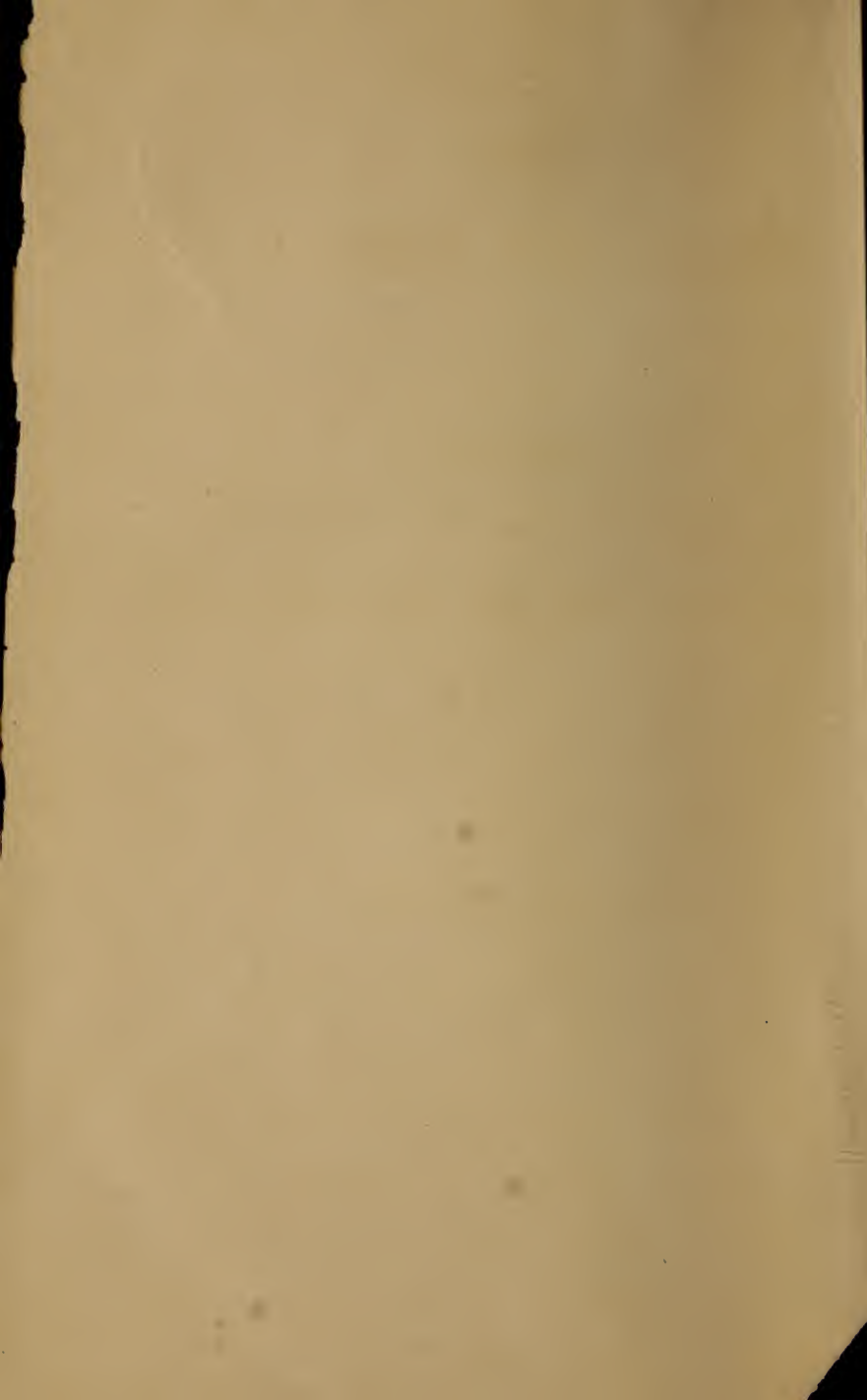
A WHITE REPUBLICAN.

LONDON :

JAMES BIDGWAY, PICCADILLY, W.

1862.

Price Eighteenpence.



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Hiram Fuller

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THE FLAG OF TRUCE.

It is not necessary to enter into any ethnological speculations in regard to the origin of man in order to define his social relations. No matter whether we have sprung from one Adam or five; whether descended from angels, or ascended from zoophytes: are we not all the offspring of God; and does not a common parentage establish a common brotherhood? Upon this broad basis, as upon the primary foundation of the earth, all our reasoning rests; and from it all our theories spring touching the rights and duties of the individual—the laws and relations of society. In this simple formula, like the oak in the acorn, lie all our hopes of the fraternity of man, the amity of nations, “the federation of the world.” And what, let us first inquire is the natural state, the normal condition of man—is it peace, or is it war between himself and nature; between himself and his fellow man? The verb *To BE* is the first word to be conjugated; the first

conquest to achieve ; or, reduced to an aphorism, “ self-preservation is the first law of nature.” The primal necessity of existence is food : for this the first desire is felt—the first effort of the infant is made—the first battle of life is fought. All after wars are but amplified variations of that first great cause of grief, beginning in the faint cry of the cradle, and culminating in the clamour of the battle-field. In the animal world one race preys upon another (not like man, upon his own). Great fish devour the little ones (but not of their own species), and it seems to be ordained by the economy of nature that millions must die that one may live. In his savage state we see the fierce and naked man as a warrior rudely armed, ready to kill not only beings of his own race, but even of his own tribe, who stand between him and his animal appetites. For an offence somewhat more refined the first-born son of man murders his brother, and thus begins the never-ending strife which all good men lament ; while all the world have become more or less partakers of the original crime :

“ A brother’s murder !

It hath the primal, eldest curse upon it.”

And yet, there are few hands, however white, or holy,

entirely free from the fratricidal stain. The food we eat, the garments we wear, the luxuries we enjoy are too often but the spoils of war purchased with human blood.

Among barbarous tribes, a state of war seems to be in accordance with the lower law of nature ; and, if in harmony with nature, we must find no fault with its operations, but call it right. The lion fights to obtain food for his whelps, and the lioness fights in defending them from the hunter. Man, the savage, obeys the same instinct. But with the development and cultivation of his moral nature his savageness disappears, or is subdued ; and the code of blood gives place to the Commandments of Reason ; to be followed in the fulness of time by that higher law of Christian Love, heralded by the angels of God, announcing the end of war upon the earth ; and proclaiming the reign of peace and goodwill among men. Since the promise of that heavenly harbinger, which summoned the sages of the East to receive the new dispensation, two thousand years have rolled around, and yet the glad tidings hailed with hosannas in the skies, filling the hearts of Bethlehem shepherds with joy are not yet fulfilled ! There is not peace on earth ; there is not good will among men. The red tide of human blood still continues to flow, widening

and deepening with "the process of the sun." Alas, that we must confess that the tide is fiercest, and the deluge deepest among nations calling themselves Christian, whose people are the professed followers of the Prince of Peace; and who continue to baptize their children in His name! And more shockingly paradoxical yet, in the very name of Him who commanded his impetuous disciple to "put up his sword" the deadliest wars are waged; while the history of Christianity—a Book of Martyrdom written in crimson, continues to be read without a blush! Brothers nursed at the same breast, baptized at the same font, partakers of the same sacrament go to war with one another, while the bystanders look on in cold "neutrality," forbidden to interfere by the laws of nations, or the etiquette of Courts!

It will be readily seen from these preliminary suggestions, that in considering the question of international rights and duties, we shall be compelled to take strong ground against the War policy—a policy originating in the lowest instincts of uncivilized man; and which, under all its forms, and whatever its purpose is in direct antagonism to the higher impulses, and nobler inspirations of the religion of Christianity—by whose golden rules of

benevolence and philanthropy the great nations of Europe and America profess to be governed, not only in their domestic polity, but in all their foreign intercourse and relations. Taking the "Sermon on the Mount" as the sum and essence of all human wisdom, we must begin by denouncing all offensive war, not only as an evil but a sin ; not only as a sin but a crime, for which there is no name but its own—WAR. And yet we can hardly adopt the non-resistance doctrine, which meekly offers the right cheek to the ruffian who has smitten us on the left ; nor that impoverishing charity that gives a coat to the thief who has stolen our cloak. All nature resents an injury ; the worm turns in self-defence against the foot that crushes it. Between aggressive and defensive war there is all the moral difference that lies between right and wrong, justice and injustice ; or whatever terms we choose to use in designating and discriminating between good and evil.

Our present purpose is to cast a summary glance at the earth as it is, with its one thousand million of human inhabitants, divided into races, and subdivided into nations ; and consider the relations they hold, and the duties they owe to each other both in peace and in war.

The map of the world is spread out before us, with the geographical limits of all the Great Powers, and the Lesser Powers duly defined thereon. Some are separated by oceans, some by mountains, some by rivers, others by "narrow friths," or only invisible lines; with different languages, customs, religions, and governments. The subject, it will be admitted, is a comprehensive one; but what is law for one should be law for all, and to discover and determine more especially the international laws and relations between Europe and America is all we shall venture to attempt in the space we purpose to occupy. To do this we need not refer to Wheaton or Vattel, or to any other authority on the "Laws of Nations," but rather to the common understanding of the people who make the laws (or who think they do), and to the policy of the Powers that break them.

The United States of America (it seems ironical to continue to call them *United States*) present at this moment the sad spectacle of Civil War on a larger scale than the world has ever before witnessed—literally "the bloodiest picture in the book of Time." The causes of the contest we do not stop to consider; and the result, no "latter day prophet" may venture to predict. The ques-

tion of questions now is, what action shall Europe, and more especially France and England, take in regard to the belligerents? in other words, what are the duties which one nation owes to another in a state of war, particularly in a state of civil or internecine war? The answer to this inquiry is obvious, and the logic easily understood. War being an evil, a waste, a loss, a destruction to the parties engaged in it, it is evidently for their interest to come to terms and make peace at the earliest possible moment; to cease killing each other, and to commence negotiating or reasoning. It follows, therefore, that the European Powers, even were they not strongly urged by self-interest to interfere in the contest, would only be doing their duty in a philanthropic, neighbourly way by exerting all their influence, moral, political, and commercial in favour of peace. Lord Russell and Lord Palmerston personally deplore the existence of the war, but officially refuse to interfere, because they tell us, such an act of friendship would involve England in the common calamity; and self-interest is the first law of nations as well as of nature. But suppose that the spirit of Christianity sat enthroned to-day, invested with the sceptre of all the Cæsars; or that the Emperor of the French, for in-

stance, who probably wields more power for good or ill than any man who ever lived, should suddenly decide to imbue his "Napoleonic ideas" with the doctrines of the "Beatitudes," and propose to all the nations of the earth that they should "learn the art of war no more;" that swords should be beaten into ploughshares, spears into pruning-hooks; that all war-vessels and fortifications should be dismantled, all cannon spiked; all powder mills destroyed; and all the armies and navies of the world at once disbanded! Might not the disarmed nations continue to live in peace and harmony, with no more fears of foreign invasion or internal revolution? Instead of all this costly competition in providing instruments of death might they not with better reason and even greater security devote their energies and their treasures to the cultivation of the peaceful arts, to the general welfare and happiness of the human race? The idea, we know, is extremely Utopian, so is Christianity; but the proposition to disarm the nations must come, sooner or later, from the "Powers that Be," or the religion of Peace is an admitted failure. At the present moment who so able to propose and carry into effect the universal amnesty of nations as the Emperor of the French, whose nod is peace or war to

Europe ; or perhaps the movement might come with a still better grace from the Queen of England—a Christian, peace-loving woman, whose lawful and loyal subjects number 200,000,000, comprising one-fifth of the entire human race.

To return from this incidental speculation, which, however poetic and dreamy it may seem to this age of iron ships and Armstrong guns, is nevertheless a suggestion worthy of serious consideration, let us look a little more particularly into the actual state of things ; and consider what is best to be done in order to put an end to this unnatural strife in America, which all the world is deprecating, and from which all Europe is suffering. With all due deference to the diplomatic caution of European Cabinets, we do not believe in the policy of coolly looking on with folded arms while a young and powerful member of the family of nations, in a fit of passion, is tearing its own flesh, and rending its own limbs asunder. International duty is not discharged by assuming an attitude of calm and complacent neutrality. Something more is due to the combatants than to form a sort of sportsman's ring, and insist on fair play. When the courage and the skill of the parties has been proved, and their strength and manhood

fully tested, non-interference on the part of the witnesses to the mortal combat is to become *particeps criminis* in the eye of the common law. Let them be recognized and treated as equals, invited to shake hands and separate in peace.

Fair play is a phrase much used by Englishmen, and even in pugilistic encounters a fair fight and no favour is strenuously demanded. In the great contest between the North and the South, the recognition of both parties as belligerents, entitled to equal rights, was undoubtedly intended as an application of the fair play principle to the parties at war. But in order to place the North and the South on a footing of equality, the ports and markets of the world should be equally open to each. If the laws, treaties and agreements of nations prevent the supply of articles contraband of war to either party by foreign merchants in foreign vessels, still the North has the vast advantage of purchasing powder, lead, rifles, swords, guns, and all other instruments of death in all the marts of Europe ; while the South, shut out from all the world, depends entirely upon its own resources for means of defence, extemporising the manufacture of arms and munitions of war, instead of importing them ready made from abroad. To respect the Blockade is, in effect, to take part with the

North against the South—with the strong (numerically) against the weak—with the invader against the invaded. Is this the boasted fair play of non-intervention? Why, even in a cock-fight the gallant bird that loses his spur is immediately taken from the pit in accordance with the cry of the spectators, and not permitted to renew the contest until supplied with weapons equal in length and sharpness to those of his antagonist. These diplomatic sticklers for non-interference with the deadly struggle in America forcibly remind one of the impartiality of the old woman in Oregon, who, when she saw her husband fighting with a bear, only “prayed for fair play, not caring a fig which licked.”

If there are times when “England expects every man to do his duty,” there are also times when every man expects England to do her duty; although, perhaps, this sturdy little word may not be found in the velvet vocabulary of diplomacy. But if we regard the nations of the earth simply as families, whose common welfare is best promoted by friendly intercourse and the interchange of neighbourly relations, surely it is not only the duty, but the interest of all to keep the peace of all. And if England, as she proudly claims, stands at the very head of the

world in respect to age, intelligence and power ; if she be indeed what she professes, the most enlightened, the most humane, and the most Christian nation on the earth, let her assume her right of precedence in the move for mediation ; and in the broad name of humanity demand a cessation of hostilities in the reeking and reeling Republic over the sea. The voice of the British Empire—an empire on which the sun never sets, and the roll of the *reveillé* never ceases—that voice coming like a note of celestial music from the lips of the peace-loving Queen, would be heard by listening hearts even amid the roar and the storm of battle.

But Governments, they tell us, must move gently and gingerly. The voice of duty is no authority for kings and cabinets. What says the “ Law of Nations ? ” What are the permissions and the impediments of international treaties ? Blockades must be respected — if effective. Nations must not interfere with each other’s internal affairs, especially with their difficulties. People must take no part in the quarrels of their neighbours, even though some brutal Butler living next door has his wife by the hair and is beating her to death ! But if the Statute Law restrains the more generous promptings of humanity ; if red-tape compacts prevent interference, there is surely no law to

prohibit governments from expressing opinions, uttering protests or making appeals in behalf of peace and the stay of slaughter; and this quite harmless, entirely legal sort of *moral* intervention on the part of European Powers would prove more effective than any other means of bringing the War in America to an end. It is no uncommon thing, when the angry passions are aroused, for parties to keep on quarrelling against their convictions, almost against their will; and only want some good excuse for laying down their arms. The combatants in America are so deeply immersed in blood, that, like the murderers in Macbeth,

“Should they wade no more,

Returning were as tedious as to go o’er.”

We believe there are tens of thousands of men now drawn out in battle array both in the North and in the South who “have no stomach for this fight.” Both sides have had enough of blood and carnage; and they would rejoice to quit the field if they could do so with honour, and by acting under good advice. The precise form and manner and moment of offering this advice is the delicate point to be overcome. But let us suppose that all the Great Powers of Europe were to make their united appeal to the North and the South, jointly, to “cease firing,”

consent to an armistice, and appoint Commissioners to settle their difficulties. The moral weight of such an appeal might overcome all the objections raised by pride or passion, and by its very gravity and dignity subdue the belligerents into a state of calm reflection conducive to peace. Is not the experiment worth trying? We put the question most respectfully and most earnestly to the crowned and thoughtful heads of Europe. The party repudiating such wise and benevolent counsel would place itself at once in the wrong, and forfeit even the sympathy of its friends.

But we confess to little hope of seeing the nations moving for mediation from a sense of duty. Self-interest is the main-spring of governments as well as of individuals. Let us accept the facts as we find them, and consider, for a moment, if it be not for the interest, almost the vital interest of England, especially, to put an end to this suicidal war in America. We have small belief in the assertion, often uttered, that the Monarchies of the Old World, jealous of the Great Republic of the New, have for years been plotting and scheming for its destruction. There are publicists who even insist that the rupture of the Union originated in Russia, a country always on the most

friendly terms with the United States; and it is charged that ex-President Buchanan, who, when Minister at St. Petersburg, was first let into the secret, was subsequently used as a tool by the Czar to aggravate the Secession movement and bring on the war. The motive ascribed to Russia is purely a financial one—simply the grain question, amounting to some £30,000,000 a year! It is also constantly asserted and very generally believed by the lower classes in America that England is the root of all the mischief! that British gold has corrupted Republican integrity, bribed Republican legislators, subsidized Republican Administrations; and that the cockatrice's egg of Secession was laid in Downing-street, and hatched at the White House in Washington. Not only the Court, the Cabinet, and the Parliament of England have conspired to destroy the Union, but English manufacturers, whose profits are impinged by Northern Tariffs, have joined the grand cabal in instigating the South to rebellion, accepting drafts from the "Cotton Lords" for unlimited amounts in order to give aid to the Secession cause! France, we believe, has not yet been inculcated as an abettor of the great rebellion.

The charges against England being more plausible and

more generally credited than any other in regard to what are called "the machinations of foreign governments," we shall commence by denying the justice of the accusations, and proceed to examine a little critically into the causes of their credibility. In the first place, although England and the United States have long been at peace, and while commercial and social intercourse between the countries is all the while increasing, there is no disguising the fact that a very large class of people in America cherish and inculcate a most intense anti-British feeling. Among the descendants of the soldiers of the Revolution, and the survivors of the war of 1812-15 this animosity is hereditary and natural. It takes a century to obliterate the cicatrices of war. A far more malignant type of the disease of Anglo-phobia has been imported into America from Ireland. The feeling of enmity towards England among the native citizens was fast fading out; and on the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales the "hatchet was buried"; the "calumet smoked"; and "God save the Queen" promised to become almost as popular in the theatres of New York as in the concert-rooms of London. But on that very occasion the *animus* of the Emerald Islanders was signally shown by the

refusal of Colonel Corcoran (now prisoner at Richmond) who then commanded an Irish Regiment, to parade in honour of the son of England's Queen—the heir to England's throne! While five hundred thousand enthusiastic Americans lined Broadway, waiting from 10 o'clock in the morning until dark, to catch a passing glimpse of Royalty, and to swell the huzzas that greeted his coming; while from every drawing room in the Fifth Avenue floated the sweet song, "We love him for his mother's sake,"—Irishmen only skulked sulkily into the background, muttering in the old style—"England's necessity shall be Ireland's opportunity!" And Irishmen now, more than any other people, swell the ranks of the army of the North in its crusade against the South. To conquer Canada and revolutionize England is the second part of their programme.

The wholesale charge that America hates England is not entirely true; neither is it just, when speaking for the whole nation, to say that England hates America. Nationalities never love or hate as units; all the friendship and all the enmity existing between them is to be found in classes and individuals. In America, in addition to the anti-British elements we have indicated, there is also a

strong commercial rivalry between the manufacturing interests of the two countries. The mills of Lowell compete with the mills of Manchester; while protective tariffs in the United States conflict with England's theory of fair play. But these are peaceful rivalries, involving no ill-feeling, and threatening no unpleasant results. In the fair field of literature, and the beautiful arts, there is still less to fear from national competition; on the contrary, there is still more to hope from the generous emulation of rival nations. When legislatures shall be controlled by that high sense of justice which guarantees to the men who think, and to the men who invent, the legitimate fruits of their labour and their skill—protecting the rights of the higher kind of property as well as the lower—there will no longer be cause of complaint on either side of the Atlantic, of that popular but infamous system of brain-theft by which publishers are enriched and authors are impoverished. The Harpers of America fatten on Dickens and Carlyle; and the harpies of England thrive on Irving and Prescott. To republish an author's works without his permission and supervision, is not only a wrong but a crime, greater even than the stealing of his purse, as often, through error of print, or

carelessness of translation, he is robbed even of his good name by the clumsiness of the felonious fingers through which he is compelled to pass. But from larcenies of this sort there is little danger of war between England and the United States. Let some lawless Yankee skipper, however, board an English fishing boat off Newfoundland, and steal the captain's compass or the cook's kettle, and the British Minister of Foreign Affairs would be promptly called upon to resent the wrong, to demand an apology, the restitution of the stolen property; and, in case of refusal, to issue a declaration of war. But no redress is sought for these grosser robberies perpetually perpetrated by American pirates upon English brains; because there exists no international law for the protection of the most sacred of all property—the creations of the human mind, the inventions of human genius! And without the aid of law, crime will ever go “unwhipt of justice.”

But there is still another class in America whose opinions and prejudices must be taken into account in order to arrive at a more just estimate of the genuine republican feeling in regard to the social and political institutions of England. We do not know how better to characterize this radical school of the “fierce democracy” than by

calling them king-haters. The very name of "Monarchy" drives them mad; and could they succeed in getting together a "World's Convention" for the revision of the Bible, as certain "reformers" have proposed, the "Book of Kings" would be speedily voted into the "Apocrypha." They look upon the "effete monarchies of Europe" as grand and glittering icebergs, chilling all the atmosphere around them, rudderlessly floating, gradually diminishing, and inevitably sinking into the sea of oblivion. They hate the whole system of Royalty, root and branch; and despise all the artificial distinctions of ranks and orders which surround and support it. They ridicule the idea of a patent, titular nobility, and all its attendant flunkeyism, powdered, pampered, and bewigged; while the rules of social precedence, based upon ancestry, title, or Act of Parliament strike the pure democracy of America as an outrage upon the dignity of man,—an offence against God, who has stamped on every brow the degree of nobility, or ignobility to which it is entitled; and fixed the rank of each by those high heraldic signs of nature which no Court or King on earth can counterfeit. They insist upon an aristocracy of intellect, not of ribbons; and would reverse the order of precedence laid down in the "Peer-

age," which, in dividing the people of England into one hundred and fifty-eight classes, places such men as William Shakspeare and Alfred Tennyson in the one hundred and fifty-fourth, leaving only four grades below them : yeomen, tradesmen, artificers, and labourers ! It is needless to add that this school of theoretical democratics, whether of the Black republican or of the Red republican stripe, bears no love to England, or to any other country maintaining monarchical institutions. It embraces active and ardent politicians of the most radical and agrarian tendencies, and they are always among the most clamorous advocates for war. They have been mainly instrumental in precipitating the disastrous war between the North and the South, which is regarded by them as only a sort of preparatory, monytechnic school, in which the great army of the Republic is training and strengthening itself for the grand encounter with foreign nations, daily threatened by the New York press, and sure to come at no distant period. The universal Yankee nation, they boast, is yet bound to " lick all creation." And then those " baubles" of Royalty, the crowns of Europe, are to be tossed about like shuttle-cocks by the mighty battle-doers of America ! Inspired by the arrogant ambition of the " Munroe doc-

trine," they dream of annexing Canada, Cuba, and Mexico (they have already a mortgage on the latter country); and woe to the European Power that presumes to stand in the way of "manifest destiny." Mr. Seward's policy and plans of national aggrandisement are all condensed in the oft-repeated couplet:—

“ No pent up Utica contracts our powers ;
But the whole boundless continent is ours !”

With these eliminations of American principles and purposes, the “rotten dynasties of Europe,” as they are called by Fourth-of-July orators, may have a foretaste of the broth that is brewing for them on the democratic side of the Atlantic. The shadows of coming events, like the penumbra of an eclipse, have already touched the shores of England with a palpable chill; and the great law of self-preservation is beginning to operate. The British Government is thoroughly awake to the necessity of arming at all points—preparing for the evil to come

But it is not our purpose to join in the cry “to arms;” we would rather persuade the nations to disarm themselves, to throw away their swords and muskets and enter into the holy alliance of peace upon the platform of Christian

brotherhood. We have shown the existence of the war feeling in America only that it may be the better controlled, or neutralized ; not that the fever may be counteracted by exciting a similar irritation in Europe. The war cloud in the West is heavy and dark ; but with the right sort of conductors the deadly element may be safely discharged ; and the bow of peace, like a “covenant in the skies,” again assure us that the red deluge is past, and that the sweet harvests of life shall no more be blasted by the desolating storms of war.

To resume the consideration of international relations in time of peace, and the rights and duties by which peaceful relations are best maintained. It was the maxim of Washington, “In time of peace prepare for war ;” and all the nations of the earth are acting in accordance with this prudent precept. But such has been the progress of military science in what is popularly termed the art of war, and so equalized have the nations become by the employment of equal weapons, that absolute invulnerableness to the attacks of an enemy bids fair to render all hostile demonstrations not only useless, but ridiculous. The “Monitors” and “Merrimacs” of our navies may be so encased in impenetrable iron that a fight between them,

instead of being dangerous, becomes simply ludicrous. Like a couple of knights "clad in complete steel," hacking at each other with swords without being able to inflict the smallest injury, they would only amuse the bystanders with the mockery of a "sham fight." It is not impossible that through the very perfection of the implements of war the nations may yet come to laugh at the absurdity of throwing egg-shells at each other from the "turrets" of iron houses, and thus be led, by common consent, in view of their own folly, to convert all instruments of death into implements of agriculture, or any other culture conducive to the general welfare and happiness of man. This, indeed, were a "consummation devoutly to be wished;" and, Utopian as it may seem to the multitude employed in fabricating war-ships and armour, and to the sorely taxed people who are paying for the same, the dawn of another era may possibly be nearer than we dream. Whenever the popular current sets in for universal peace, the strife among the nations will be to see which can melt up cannon fastest.

In the meantime, what is the policy to be inculcated, best adapted to preserve the peace and amity of the nations, to promote the friendly intercourse and brotherhood

of man? We begin by declaring Free Trade to be a primary condition, an absolute necessity to a good understanding between the Powers and the Peoples of the earth.

All tariffs, or import and export taxes, are wrong in theory and unjust in practice. Taxing one class to protect another is one of the fundamental fallacies of that narrow-minded school of economists, whose logic begins and ends in selfishness. A direct tax levied upon person or property is the most honest tax a State can impose upon its citizens. All other forms of taxation are scarcely better than subterfuges. And as for legislative protection to special interests, the simple statement of the proposition sufficiently indicates its injustice. The laws of nature, as well as the laws of trade, regulate both products and prices on the single basis of supply and demand; while different countries and climates widely distant from the great markets of the world, will each contribute the article it can produce best and cheapest without legislative aid, and in spite of legislative hindrance. The cotton of the Confederacy; the sugar of Cuba; the tea of China; the wine of France; and the leather of Russia will continue to find their way to London against all competition, however

protected by legislative enactment. Manufactured goods are also subject to the same commercial laws. Manchester machinery is perfect, and Manchester labour is cheap ; therefore, give its manufacturers the fair play of free trade, and they can defy competition even in the remotest markets of the world ; and this, too, after paying for the transportation of the raw material from the uttermost parts of the earth and the sea. In New England, labour is dearer, and machinery less perfect ; therefore New England insists on a protective tariff to enable her to compete with Manchester. But instead of listening to this plea for legislative interference to make up the difference, the Government should tell New England to go to work at something else ; to stick to shoe-making, if she cannot make both ends meet at calico-making. “ *Ne sutor ultra crepidam* ” is a motto as appropriate for Massachusetts manufacturers as for their special pleader, Wilson, in the Senate Chamber at Washington. Illinois raises wheat and cattle without any fostering by Congress ; Virginia, tobacco ; South Carolina, rice ; Georgia and Alabama, cotton. Is there nothing New England can do for a living without going to Washington for a subsidy ? Better go a fishing, than to continually go begging for protection, in order, as her

special advocates term it, "to enable her to compete with the pauper labour of Europe."

But it is more especially with reference to the promotion of goodwill among the nations, and the establishment of harmonious relations between the great families of man, that we earnestly urge the policy of Free Trade upon the attention of Peoples and Governments. The American tax on imports, for instance, we regard as a direct injury to the producer of the article taxed, by forcibly robbing him of his customers.

The war now raging, by plunging the nation into debt, compels the levying of higher and higher duties. With an export tax on cotton, and increased rates on Manchester muslins, the English manufacturer will find his candle burning at both ends, and his substance melting away, and all in consequence of a civil war contest, by which commerce is paralysed, while the Governments of Europe continue to look on in passive neutrality ! But, ask the sophists of Selfism, have not all Governments the absolute right, not only to regulate their internal affairs, but to adopt whatever restrictive measures they please touching trade and intercourse with foreign nations ? Most assuredly they have that sort of arbitrary right which is

based on might, and if they take for their rule of faith and practice the doctrine which ignores the existence of any other being, or any other body outside of themselves, recognizing the Supreme Ego as the fountain and finality of duty, they may pile on prohibitory tariffs, until every nation becomes walled in, or walled out, and thus isolated from the rest of the world. This would be the result of "protection" carried to its extreme limit; and yet it would be only the exercise of the abstract, legal right which every man has to build a wall around his house, barricade his doors, board up his windows, and refuse to have any further dealings with his neighbours. Upon the principle that every man's house is his castle, and that the precincts and premises of his domicile are sacred and consecrated to his own sole "use and behoof for ever," as the legal phrase goes, every misanthropic churl has the right thus to immure himself and to die in the dungeon of his own despotic exclusiveness. Such on a larger scale is the national non-intercourse policy of China and Japan, a policy which all the Western Powers, claiming a superior civilization, have very unanimously agreed to disrespect; and consequently proceeded to overcome those ancient mural obstacles to free trade by the argument of European

cannon. There is very little difference of principle between paper impediments, and obstructions of wood and stone to the free ingress of trade and travel into the ports and territories of foreign countries; and the right to shut out the world by high walls, though apparently more hostile, is quite as well founded as the more refined and diplomatic method of excluding men and merchandise by legislative enactment. We have heard strong reasons urged against American and European intervention in China. It was wrong, say a certain class of theorists, to disturb an ancient and happy people, whose empire was in its glory before our "antiquity" was begun; who wanted nothing from "outside barbarians," with whom contact was contamination; whose philosophy was incomprehensible, and whose religion was heathenism. But the Western Powers, acting from a higher sense of the obligations to each other of the different members of the human family, claim the right of breaking the windows of barbarism to let in the common air and sunshine. Western civilisation, like the light of Christianity, is not to be hid under a bushel. In its very essence it is expansive and proselytizing. Like the radiance of the sun, it must go forth to dissipate the darkness and gladden every

corner of the world with its share of the common day. There must be no monopoly in the excellence of the arts —no secret in the revelations of religion. Knowledge and wisdom must circle with the sun; while the great families of nations, living as neighbours, whether near or remote, must cultivate neighbourly and friendly relations. And this they cannot do by pointing their guns at each other's windows, or by shaking their fists in each other's faces.

There is an instinct of duty as well as a sense of right in the consciousness of every intelligent mind; and upon this milder emotion of benevolence we found all our arguments in favour of peace, and all our hopes of the free and friendly intercourse of nations, which represent in the grand aggregate but the multiplied sense and sentiments of the individuals of which they are composed. The doctrine of free trade is the philanthropic spirit of brotherhood embodied in legislation; and sent as a token and a pledge of amity in every bale of merchandise that passes "duty free" from one country to another. Let the white-winged messengers of commerce fly over every sea, and upon the wings of every wind, until the surplus of each satisfies the wants of all. Not only are the products of

the earth thus freely interchanged, but knowledge and benedictions also; while mutual profits create mutual riches.

It would not be easy to compute the saving in money, were the nations simultaneously to cease arming and adopt the Christian policy of universal peace. The "Blue Books" of the various Governments might show us the annual cost of standing armies and floating navies; but the gross amounts which have been invested and wasted, from time immemorial, in arms and armaments, with the interest thereon, would be a sum beyond the computations of arithmetic; and in order to get nearer to the "dead loss" of war, we should add to this sum the wealth that might have been created by the employment of all these men and means in the cultivation of the useful and the peaceful arts of life. Next to this enormous military debt, the cost of collecting revenues is one of the heaviest items for which the people are taxed under the head of "Government Expenditure." Custom-houses and custom-house officers, after the military establishment, are the most expensive and least compensating of all public institutions. Why not, then, abolish them at once by mutual consent, and proclaim the great reform of Universal Free

Trade ! Like the suggestion to disarm the nations, the time may come when this great leap in the progress of civilization may be seriously contemplated.

While writing these pages the important news reaches us, that Austria is negotiating to enter the Zollverein, thereby bestowing the benefits of the great reform upon her 35,000,000 of people. Custom-houses and passports will then be abolished along the whole frontier, from the Baltic to the Adriatic ; and the day is not far distant when the blessings of free trade and free travel will be established throughout Europe. Instead of being called upon to show his passport thirty-eight times in making the tour of Germany, and each time to fee an official, the untaxed and unrestricted traveller may pass unimpeded from State to State, under the benign freedom and political unity of the Germanic Federation. United Italy has also swept away the annoying impediments ; and these great strides of progress in the Old World promise much in the way of compensation for the losses occasioned by the retrograde movement and commercial prohibition of the New. While the United States of America are closing their doors, and adopting the hostile system of non-intercourse, United Italy and United Germany are

opening their ports, removing their barricades, and inviting all the world to the hospitalities of free trade and friendly intercourse. Do we go too far in asserting that this is one of the most hopeful and significant signs of the times; and is it too much to claim for the system of free trade that it infuses the spirit of Christianity into the diplomacy and the laws of nations, into the commerce and intercourse of the world? Surely there is reason to hope that the day is coming, when this benevolent and pacific policy will be firmly established between all the Powers of Europe.

But the human race, down to the present time, does not seem to comprehend its own drift; it does not understand very clearly either its origin, its object, or its destiny; and even the pioneers of the great human procession know not whence they come, nor whither they go, save into "the valley of the shadow of death." In the youngest member of the family of nations—among a people furthest advanced towards the setting sun; and who, following the course of the "Star of Empire, that Westward takes its way," should be the farthest removed from the ages and the deeds of darkness—we behold the devastation of civil war, and no hand or voice of Power is raised to separate the combatants! Is it possible that England, with her

claim of motherhood towards these contending brothers, can longer look on without protest or remonstrance ! Are the parties to be left to fight on to the bitter end, like the famous cats of Kilkenny, leaving only their bloody remnants upon the battle field ?

In regard to the folly and wickedness of this war there can be but one opinion, even among the most truculent disciples of the sword. All the world now looks upon the great American quarrel not only as a nuisance that ought to be abated, but as an unmitigated evil that ought to be suppressed. It has not even the poor plea of necessity—that common cloak for personal and national sins—to defend it. Even the most stony-hearted of Stoics who insist that every people must be purified by fire and pass through a Red Sea on their way to the promised land, and who advocate war as a providential means of destroying the underbrush of nations, who speak of soldiers as “food for powder,” and of the corpses of the slain as “manure for the grain field,” can find no excuse for this madness in America. We search in vain through all history for its justification by precedents ; the monstrous carnage stands alone in magnitude and misery.

We have already alluded to the popular belief in Ame-

rica that the monarchies of Europe are rejoicing in the overthrow of the Republic; and to the views and feelings entertained by certain classes in regard to monarchical institutions, and more particularly to those of England. Having described the unfriendly elements existing in the United States, and the radical proclivities of the King-hating masses, it is but just that some mention should be made of another, and far more thoughtful, not to say higher class of American citizens, who, instead of cherishing feelings of hostility to the "Mother Country," are quite as loyal to the great principles of the British Government, as the most devoted subjects of the British crown. At the time of the separation of the Thirteen Colonies there were many zealous loyalists in America as well as many open rebels in England; and from that day to this a large proportion of what may still be termed the "gentry" of the United States have never ceased to regret the severance of the political tie that bound them to the land of their fathers. The "Tories" of the Revolution, whose friendly "Blue lights" guided many a British man-of-war into American ports on many a dark night, during the seven years' struggle between the old spirit of Empire and of Independence, still have their legitimate descend-

ants and representatives in every State of the old Union, and in every town of the new Confederacy. In 1776, these Tories, in the estimation of the Colonial rebels, were traitors only fit for the gallows. In 1862, the friends and advocates of a peaceful separation, or adjustment of difficulties between the North and the South, are similarly judged and treated by the military despotism of the Union, in the new struggle between the lust of Empire and the love of Independence! In both epochs the loyalists, the men of peace, the Conservatives who had more to lose than to gain by war, have been denounced and doomed as traitors to their country, and as enemies of mankind. Nevertheless, a few such grains of salt still exist, even in the land of "universal freedom;" patriotic and conscientious men, who stubbornly refuse to bend the knee to the idols of Democracy. We find gentlemen of this school to-day sprinkled all over the United States; but their voices are seldom heard amidst the contention of parties and the roar of battle. They are derisively designated by stump orators and partizan newspapers as "gentlemen of the old school," aristocrats, or by whatever epithet of opprobrium best "tickles the ears of the groundlings." But the most effective of all charges against the "ruffled shirt

gentry" is, that they are guilty of cherishing feelings of friendship for Great Britain, that detested despotism "whose oppressions planted the Colonies in America," whose cruel taxation drove them to the war of Independence, and whose irrepressible hatred of her Republican offspring leads to the continual plotting for their destruction ! This more refined and respectable class of amicable gentlemen are never heard boasting, by tongue or pen, of the super-excellent character of their country or their institutions, because however admirable the Republican system may be in theory, they are too familiar with its practical imperfections and abuses to indulge in the disagreeable habit of exalting themselves above their neighbours ; and while partakers with England of the benefits of a common Law, the luxuries of a common Literature, and the inspirations of a common Religion, they can never participate in the vulgar animosity of the masses of their countrymen against the land of their ancestors.

And what are these international repugnances, when carefully analysed, but the sum total of individual prejudices—the offspring of mutual ignorance rather than of mutual acquaintance ? If America hates "John Bull" for his flunkeyism, England turns up her nose at "Brother

Jonathan" for his bad manners. The one despises powdered wigs, and the other dislikes tobacco chewing and expectoration. The one is despised for his unmanly servility to superiors in rank, and the other for his impertinent swagger and obtrusive independence. And it is owing to these personal differences and social disagreeabilities, rather than to any political antagonisms between the Constitutions of the two Governments that England and America are in danger of coming into collision. If a man offends us by bad manners and ungracious words, we are far more likely to become his enemy than on account of any peculiar opinions, political or religious, he may entertain, however adverse to our own. People who travel in foreign countries become liberal-minded and cosmopolitan ; while those who never look beyond their native hills, and think " the visual line that girts them round the world's extreme," live and die encrusted in their own prejudices. The Esquimaux believe that Greenland is the fairest country on which the sun shines. The feelings entertained by large masses of untravelled Americans and Englishmen respecting each other are about as self-complacent and reasonable. Both seem to be perpetually returning thanks that they are not as other people are, especially as this poor Republican, or

as this proud Royalist, as the case may be. Self-satisfaction is a very comfortable feeling, but when personal, or national complacency runs into a sort of political pharisaism, its destiny is clearly predicted in the words of the Book of Wisdom: "Pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall." We have shown that the masses in America regard England as haughty, supercilious, and tyrannical; and they mean "to take the starch out of her," as soon as they have arranged their little difficulties at home.

England regards America as a grand braggadocio, vain, insolent and aggressive; and these mutual antipathies, we repeat, arise more from ignorance of each other's character and from bad manners, than from bad motives. On both sides the views, feelings, and wishes of the better classes, and of what should be the governing classes, are persistently misrepresented, and misunderstood. It is a great misfortune that the men at the head, and the pilots at the helms, of both nations have never interchanged domiciliary visits. If Lord Palmerston, Louis Napoleon and Jefferson Davis could pass a social evening with President Lincoln, in the "White House," over a bottle of "old Bourbon," (a pacificating, humanizing, fraternizing spirit, which

Prince Napoleon, during his recent visit to the United States, confessed to have liked better than anything he ever met bearing that name) we have no doubt but a declaration of peace would follow, and the portentous war-clouds now hanging over both hemispheres disappear. In the absence of such a friendly gathering, let all the Powers of Europe send Ambassadors of Peace to the courts and camps of the belligerents, entreating for an armistice, in the name of humanity, while a Congress of Nations as a Court of last Appeal, is summoned together to decide on the merits of the questions at issue.

And this brings us more directly to a consideration of the duties which England and France owe to the unhappy Republic over the sea. Shall this frightful war be stopped, or shall the victim be left to die in the *delirium tremens* of war and carnage? The non-interventionists would leave him alone, like the gladiator in the arena—a pitiful spectacle, on no account to be interfered with, lest an interruption of the mortal agony should spoil a Roman holiday. Already more than 200,000 men have perished in this miserable strife; and yet the Powers of Europe extend no friendly, mediatory hand to restrain or separate the combatants! Words of kindness and of reason, we are told,

would not be heeded by either party, while the first demonstration of active interference, from whatever quarter it might come, would be met by an immediate declaration of war against the intermeddling Power. Arbitration on the part of France has been proposed to the Government at Washington and refused, notwithstanding the venerated memory of Lafayette and Rochambeau; and any pacific suggestion from England would be received with diplomatic discourtesy and popular disdain. Nations have no right to meddle with each other's domestic affairs: this is the constantly reiterated dogma put forth on every hand as an apology for non-intervention. But we have endeavoured to show the fallacy, or at least, the impolicy of this doctrine, by asserting the existence of a higher right, and a nobler impulse, springing from a sense of moral duty; and without seeking authority in the legal permissions of international codes, or popular creeds, we shall venture to insist on the right of international recognition, as one not to be disputed, and that the exercise of this right on the part of England and France (all other Governments will follow their lead), is the only possible means of bringing this wretched American war to a speedy and permanent termination.

When the great Republic was split asunder by the throes of Secession, eleven of the sovereign States of the Union, carrying a population of some 12,000,000 out of 30,000,000, with a territory of 800,000 square miles, and larger than all Western Europe, formed a new Union, under an improved Constitution, which they called "The Confederate States of America." Under this new Government, a little more conservative, but not less essentially republican than the old Union, the Confederate people of the South have lived and fought, and bled and died for eighteen months, in defence of their independence, acknowledging allegiance to no other Power, and recognizing the existence of no other laws for the regulation of society, the administration of justice, and the general management of civil and military affairs. And yet they remain unrecognized by all other nations, except as a belligerent Power, or People. But in recognizing the Confederates as belligerents, why not go one step further,—and a logical step it would be,—and recognize them as an organic political body, a People, a Government *de facto*, if not quite *de jure*? This would only be acting in accordance with England's boasted love of fair play, and without espousing the cause of either party. It would only place the belligerents, externally,

and in relation to Foreign Powers on a footing of just equality. The recognition of a Government involves representation and diplomatic relations with foreign countries. But Europe refuses to receive the Ministers of the Confederacy, consequently the South has no official advocate abroad, while the North has its diplomatic pleaders and special agents at every Court in Europe. And not only are the ears of Kings and Cabinets open to the representations of the North, but all the ports and markets of the world are open to its commerce; while the forges and manufactories of every land are employed in supplying them with the means and instruments of death. Is this fair play! With all these fearful physical odds in favour of the Northern Government, while all the moral sympathies of the world are in favour of a peaceful separation—the simple act of recognition, instead of being a *casus belli*, would be approved, even in the North, by men of “wisest censure” as an act of duty and of justice, and in strict accordance with the precedents of nations. The United States have always been especially prompt to recognize every people “struggling for liberty,” and not over-scrupulous about waiting for the credentials of a *de facto* government; whether the bearer represents at Washington the result of the

last head-and-tail-toss-up in Mexico; some improvised Republic in South America; or, what Mr. Webster called, some "pea-patch province" in Europe.

All the Great Powers have recognized from time to time the Governments of Brazil, Greece, Belgium, Lombardy and Italy; and all these countries combined are of less importance, commercially, to England and France, than the Cotton culture alone of the Southern Confederacy. France, we are assured, is ready for the recognition; but England is not—"letting I dare not, wait upon I would." And wherefore does she hesitate? The answer to this question, which everybody is asking, may be gathered from the debates in Parliament, or the despatches of the Government. But these we propose to look into a little more critically hereafter. In the meantime, England, occupying as she does the very highest position among the nations of the earth, seated on her island throne, with her feet upon the seas, and her crown among the stars—England, whose meridian sun leaves no shadow on her Empire, has a sacred duty to perform in behalf of her own suffering people at home, and in behalf of her more sadly suffering offspring in America.

To the humane instincts and Christian impulses of the

nation, rather than to the diplomatic policy of the Government, we look, and hope, and pray for some discreetly proffered, some wisely arranged interposition in behalf of peace. It has been clearly shown in the recent debate in Parliament on Mr. Lindsay's motion for the Recognition of the Southern Confederacy as an independent, *de facto* Government, that the act of recognition is entirely consistent with the position of international neutrality; and numerous instances were cited to show that while England and the United States had always been prompt to recognize new Governments, they had not thereby actively espoused the cause of the new State, nor involved themselves in war with the old. The authority of Sir James Mackintosh, among English Statesmen, is strong and conclusive on this point. He says:—

“I wish to add one striking fact on the subject of recognition. The United States of America accompanied their acknowledgment with a declaration of their determination to adhere to neutrality in the contest between Spain, and her colonies. A stronger instance cannot be adduced of the compatibility of recognition and neutrality.”

In 1849, the United States, under the administration of President Taylor, sent an envoy to Hungary with instruc-

tions to recognize the revolutionary Government if it maintained its position for only thirty days ; and in the famous controversy with Austria which followed, conducted by Chevalier Hulseman and Mr. Webster, the latter declared that "independent Governments were recognized by the leading countries of Europe and by the United States before they were acknowledged by the State from which they had separated." And no sentiment ever uttered by Mr. Webster was more applauded by the American democracy than this declaration. But we need not quote authorities, nor point to precedents, since Lord Palmerston concedes the whole argument in the following extract from his speech in the House of Commons on the 18th of July last :—

"But then, many people who talk of acknowledgment seem to imply that that acknowledgment, if made, would establish some different relations between this country and the Southern States. But that is not the case. Acknowledgment would not establish a nation unless it were followed by some direct active interference. Neutrality, as was well observed by the right hon. gentleman opposite, is perfectly compatible with acknowledgment. You may be neutral in a war between two countries whose inde-

pendence you never called in question. Two long-established countries go to war; you acknowledge the independence of both, but you are not on that account bound to take part in the contest."

The question recurs then with an urgency that will be heard—why delay the recognition? Again, we can only refer to Ministers and to Parliaments for an answer. We have already adverted to the experiment of a combined offer of mediation on the part of the Great Powers addressed in the spirit of friendship and of neutrality to the contending parties. Should these words of kindness be unheeded, then recognition might follow; and neither the recommendation of an armistice, nor the recognition of the Confederacy would be a cause for complaint or hostility on the part of the North. On the contrary, we are assured by high authorities, by gentlemen of the best intelligence and largest influence in the Northern States, that the conservative and wealthy class of citizens on both sides, would hail such an act of friendly interposition with delight. The recent disasters before Richmond have convinced the Government at Washington that the South cannot be subjugated. Of course, it would not be prudent, or politic to make public confession of this opinion; but such we happen to

know is the conviction and the conclusion of a majority of the Federal Cabinet ; and such is the conviction, also, that is beginning to manifest itself in the city of New York. The "Great Union Meeting," as the friends of peace had to call it, recently held in that city, was nothing less than the initial movement for a peaceable separation. That immense mass meeting of the opposition elements to the Lincoln Administration, took the specific form of Anti-Abolitionism, and its "Resolutions," while proclaiming devotion to "the Union as it was, and to the Constitution as it is," were specially directed against such "organs" as the New York Tribune, and such Generals as John Brown Hunter, whose "coloured brigades" have so deeply disgusted the better portion of the Army of the North. While the love of the Abolitionists for the "irrepressible nigger," is not sufficient to allow their "coloured brethren" seats in the same carriages, chairs at the same table, nor pews in the same church with themselves, it is hardly strange that anti-abolition officers refuse to command companies of "contrabands," that surgeons refuse to nurse them in hospitals, or that even privates refuse to fight side by side with them in the ranks. Europeans, especially the English, who deem it no disgrace to be seen in public

with the most unmitigated "woolly heads" can hardly appreciate the "natural repugnance" which every white man in America feels, particularly in the North, at being placed on any sort of equality with the African race. As servants, and servants only, are they everywhere regarded in the United States, even by the most zealous emancipationists ; while a case of practical amalgamation fills a whole State with undisguised disgust. The greased cartridges of India were not more distasteful to the Sepoys, than is the odour of a negro soldier to the nostrils of his white "companion in arms," be he low Dutch, or still lower Irish.

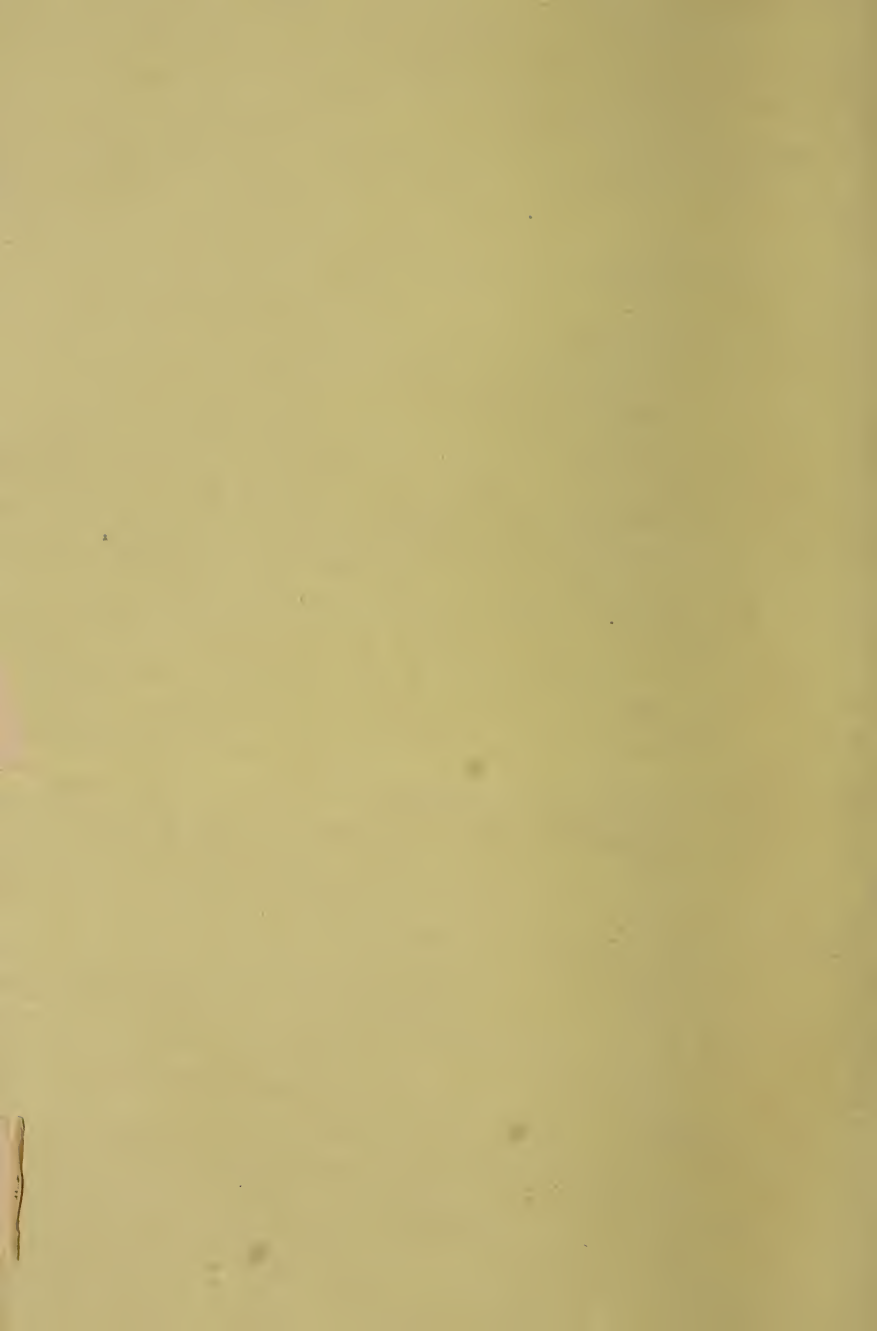
It follows, therefore, that for every coloured company of straggling "contrabands" raised in the South whole regiments will become "disaffected" in the North ; the 300,000 additional men called for by President Lincoln, will not "volunteer," and the experiment of "drafting" is one that the Governors of the States will be afraid to adopt. The very crisis, we insist, invites intervention, not of arms, but of arbitration, or at least, advice ; and as an eminent authority writes us from New York, such intervention "would be heartily welcomed by thousands in the North, while the masses, as in the giving up of the Trent prisoners, would grin and bear it." Fortunately for the peace of

Europe, the rabid and reckless portion of the American press has not the power to declare war, nor the means to furnish "the sinews."

Let the strong and friendly hands of France and England hold out the Flag of Truce, and gently wave the combatants apart. The sight of the olive leaf will be welcome in the midst of the red deluge, to our bleeding brethren over the sea; and whatever result may follow so kind an act, inspired by so good a motive, every Frenchman and every Englishman will have the high satisfaction of feeling that *France and England have done their duty.*

BLESSED ARE THE PEACE-MAKERS.

THE END.



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